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" The *ballot* is done away, and now, for the first time, the poor deceased ballot has found its panegyrists " .....I shall only remark that those who oppose this bill (the *parish bill*) must recur to the " exploded system of crimps, and the equally exploded system of ballot.....Those who " have witnessed the distress and misery, to which the ballot has given rise, cannot, I conceive, be adverse " to the abolition of that system."——MR. CANNING's Speech, in the House of Commons, 13th June, 1804.——See Parl. Debates, Vol. II. p. 719 and 720.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT (continued from page 127).——I. *Indemnity Bill.*——II. *Irish Insurrection Bill.*——III. *Military Plan.*——On the 13th of July, upon a motion, in the House of Lords, to read a second time the bill for indemnifying the ministers for having given certain orders relative to the trade with America, without the existence of a law for so doing (the law having expired in consequence of the dissolution), a long debate ensued, in which much more was said about *the dissolution* and the *Irish Catholics*, than about the bill of indemnity.——The bill of indemnity was, in fact, a matter of little importance, seeing how frequently such bills are passed. There is even *an annual* indemnity bill to free from penalties all those who have violated those Test Laws, against the repeal of which we hear such impudent and unprincipled clamours by the *dirty* Dean and others. A bill of indemnity was one of the very first acts of the late ministry; and, that was a bill, too, to excuse them from punishment, not for having given an insignificant order about the manner of carrying on a branch of trade; but, for having advised the king to admit a large number of foreign troops into the heart of our country. Those gentlemen, *then*, saw no objection to bills of indemnity. It was they, too, who were foremost in proposing the bill of indemnity for Pitt, who had lent, without interest, and in direct violation of the law, forty thousand pounds of the public money to two members of the House of Commons. What, then, can they have to say against bills of indemnity? Why nothing, only this present bill grew out of the dissolution of parliament, and that dissolution took from them their majority.——Of this long debate I shall notice, particularly, only two speeches; those of Lord Hawkesbury, and Baron Erskine of Clackmanam, whose son (lately studying the law) is our minister in America, and whose late servant has a reversionary sinecure place secured to him.——Lord Hawkesbury said, that " the " real authors of *the necessity of the dissolu-* " *tion* were the very persons, who had since " so repeatedly and so acrimoniously in- " veighed against it; for when his majesty, " in the legitimate exercise of his preroga- " tive, thought proper to make the late " change in his councils, the noble lords " opposite him made an appeal to parlia- " ment, and brought the question to issue " between themselves and their sovereign. " What, then, was left to his majesty, but " to *appeal to the sense of his people*, while " the events which made that appeal neces- " sary were still fresh in their recollection? " How else was his royal prerogative to be " supported. This is the fair, obvious, sim- " ple ground upon which the late dissolu- " tion rests, and the result has *amply proved* " *how well his majesty understood the dispo-* " *sition of his people in making that appeal.* " For never was *their sense* more clear, dis- " tinctly, and unequivocally expressed. No " means were left untried by the opposers " of government, to procure the fullest pos- " sible attendance of their adherents in par- " liament, at the beginning of the present " session; yet the *sentiment of the nation* in " favour of the prerogative, was pronounced " in the fullest house that ever sat in delibe- " ration, by the largest and most decided " majority. Among their lordships, it met " with the same *loyal* and *triumphant sup-* " *port.* Here, then, was the necessity and " the propriety of the dissolution proved at " once in the most marked and forcible " manner. He earnestly wished to let the " question rest here, but it was impossible " to pass over in silence the latter part of " the noble baron's (Lord Grenville's) " speech to which the former part only " served as a stalking-horse. The deep re- " gret he felt at some of the sentiments and " expressions that fell from the noble ba- " ron, he was at a loss how to express; but " he was sure they must have made nearly " the same impression upon most of their " lordships. He was ready to believe that " the same feeling and sentiment pervaded

" *every class and description of the commu-*
" *nity*, and that they were disposed to act
" with *one heart and hand in support of the*
" *constitution against the attacks of the most*
" *formidable foe that they had ever to con-*
" *tend with*, and now made more formida-
" ble by the influence of recent events.
" Then what could be the tendency of the
" noble baron's observations? What the
" effect they were calculated to produce?
" But where was the practical good that
" could result from them? Was it not well
" known how different were the opinions
" entertained respecting the chief topic up-
" on which the noble baron had so widely,
" and in his mind, so unnecessarily expa-
" tiated? Neither could he be ignorant how
" very generally the opinion of the country
" had been expressed upon that subject.
" Where then was the utility of the recom-
" mendation which the noble baron had so
" anxiously urged? Was there in past ex-
" perience, was there in any prospect be-
" fore us, *the slightest ground for consider-*
" *ing us a divided people?* Even in defence
" of the Catholics, and in mere justice to
" that respectable body of men, he would
" ask the noble baron, *when were their ex-*
" *ertions wanted, if the threat of danger re-*
" *quired them to put them forth?* Whatever
" the difference of opinion they may have
" entertained upon the other points, were
" they ever backward, when the appearance
" of a foreign enemy called for the zeal and
" activity of their services? Whatever the
" deprivations under which they suffer, *have*
" *they not always considered them as pros-*
" *perity and luxury when compared with*
" *the promises and the boons by which the*
" *enemy would endeavour to seduce them?*
" Then the representations made by the no-
" ble baron are unfair, of any description of
" men *who have uniformly manifested such*
" *a spirit of loyalty and patriotism.* It was
" unfair surely to describe their conduct and
" principles in a light that would justify
" him in calling them a divided people.
" Respecting our internal policy, there
" might perhaps be difference of opinion:
" with regard to the threats and attempts of
" a foreign enemy, we should always prove
" an united people, those who possessed
" least, vying with those who possessed
" most. The moment called for *universal*
" *unity of action*, and under such circum-
" stances as the present, *he hoped to see all*
" *party spirit and animosity turn into zeal*
" *for the common defence.*"——Yes, my Lord Hawkesbury, and this hope of yours has been uniformly expressed by all those who have, by no matter what means, got hold of the powers and emoluments of the country; and, I take it, the true interpretation of such hope is this; that, now that we are snugly fixed, now that the sun rises to our profit, now when it is the day of our harvest, let no cloud arise, let all go fairly and smoothly on, for all opposition, is so much against our gains. " Let us bury all " party animosities," say the INS. Yes, say the OUTS, with all our hearts; but, then, we must be INS first; for it is quite unreasonable to suppose, that we shall cease to oppose you, while you detain from us that which *(for the good of the country)* we ought to enjoy. Only let them in, my lord, and they will cry for *unanimity*, and for the suppression of all party spirit as vehemently as your lordship now does; but, until they are in, they will certainly continue to act just as your lordship and your worthy colleagues acted while you were out.——I am exceedingly glad to hear, from such authority, that there " is not the slightest grounds " for considering us as a divided people," and especially, that the Irish Catholics " are " never wanting in exertions, when the " threat of danger requires them to put " them forth." I say, I am exceedingly glad of this; because, I was afraid that this was not the case, when I saw introduced into parliament the sun-set and sun-rise bill for Ireland, and when I heard it positively asserted, that *such a bill was necessary*. My fears upon this score were by no means lessened by an article, which appeared in the Courier newspaper of the 22d of July, and which article I here insert. " One of the " Dublin papers of the 17th, which arrived " yesterday, has inserted the following arti-" cle, copied from the Limerick Chronicle: " ——With feelings the most painful we " lately heard of some irregularities com-" mitted in the town of Tipperary, and " with astonishment we found, that al-" though we obtained information of the " facts through a friend, it was with the " injunction not to disclose the circumstan-" ces, for that party spirit ran so high, that " *perhaps life would have been the forfeit* " *by the friend who made such disclosure.* " We could not of course divulge the con-" tents of the communications to us on the " subject, but now that several respectable " and spirited magistrates and gentlemen in " the neighbourhood have stepped forward " and openly avowed that outrages have ex-" isted there, we cannot feel the least deli-" cacy in stating that shameful proceedings " were allowed for several days, and within " the short distance of twenty-one miles of " this city. On the evening of the 29th

" ult. the Rev. Wm. Massy, jun. in the ex-
" ecution of his duty as a magistrate, was
" severely wounded by a stone thrown by
" some person unknown; the following
" night his house was attacked, and several
" panes of glass broken: there are, how-
" ever, rewards offered to the amount of
" nearly one thousand guineas, which form
" a fund for the purpose of bringing the de-
" linquents to justice, and it is hoped that
" *proper examples* will be made of such dis-
" turbers of the public peace. But what
" was to be expected, when *a tree of liberty*
" or some other standard, was permitted to
" be erected and to continue in that town,
" with emblems thereon, under pretence of
" some frivolous excuse, for several days,
" and that this token was a rallying point
" for *the intemperate* or *disaffected*. It has
" been stated to us, that at the distance of
" five or six miles from hence, the farce of
" erecting, if it may now be called, a May-
" bush, was intended to take place a few days
" since.——We are sorry to state that an
" affray has occurred in Ballinrobe, county
" Mayo, *between the Longford militia and*
" *a regiment of cavalry*, quartered in that
" town. Some lives (five, as far as our au-
" thority goes) have been lost in this unfor-
" tunate business. Some *ridiculous* reli-
" gious difference is understood to have been
" the origin of this affair."——This article did increase my apprehensions; but, perceiving that Lord Hawkesbury spoke of the future as well as of the past, and knowing that he must possess the best possible information upon the subject, my fears, of course, became hushed; and, I have no doubt, that Napoleon will, from his lordship's speech, derive a thorough conviction, that all his attempts to seduce the Irish, who, as his lordship says, are almost boiling over with loyalty, must prove abortive. This speech of Lord Hawkesbury must, in this way, do great good; for, as Napoleon well knows, that, numerous as his armies are, he can expect no success against a people, who, to a man, are united heart and hand against him, he will not, of course, think of attacking any part of the kingdom, " the *united* kingdom," after having read that speech.——Upon the subject of the appeal, made " *to the sense of* " *the people*," and of the *proof* of the present ministers having that sense on their side, which proof Lord Hawkesbury discovers so clearly in the late " *triumphant ma-* " *jorities* in both Houses of Parliament;" upon this subject we will leave his lordship to be answered by Baron Erskine of Clackmanam. This noble Baron, who was, but a few months Lord Chancellor, and who has now a pension, for life, of £4,000 a year, said, that " no man could question the right " of the king to dismiss his servants, or to " dissolve the parliament. These were un-
" doubted prerogatives, but they were
" granted for very distinct purposes. If his
" majesty saw reason to question the con-
" duct of his servants, he might dismiss
" them; or, if he saw reason to doubt the
" parliament, he might dissolve it, and take
" the sense of their constituents as to their
" conduct. But the law never intended
" that both of these prerogatives should be
" exercised at one and the same time, and
" with reference to each other. It was ne-
" ver in the contemplation of *the constitu-*
" *tion* of this country, that parliament should
" be dissolved simply *to accommodate a*
" *change in administration*. This would be
" to consider parliament not as a *controul*
" on the conduct of government, but as *an*
" *appendage* to it, to be dissolved and
" changed to suit the different aspects which
" it might assume. The unjustifiable mea-
" sures which in the mean time might be
" adopted, would, in such a view of the
" case, be objects of little consideration to
" those by whom they were recommended.
" Having, *by the influence of the crown, got*
" *a parliament to their mind*, they had only
" to begin their career by an *Act of Indem-*
" *nity* for any measure which they might
" have taken against law, and without ne-
" cessity. The arrival of such a period, he
" must consider as one pregnant with dan-
" ger. It might be very well to TALK of
" appealing to *the sense of the people*; what
" would the community think, however,
" when informed that *there are a number*
" *of boroughs at the disposal of the very per-*
" *sons who advised this dissolution*; and
" that there are others, the *property* of, or
" *influenced* by, a number of individuals,
" who, again, *are under the influence of the*
" *crown?* So that success is, in such an ap-
" peal, *next to certain*. But still farther,
" when they saw the seal of indemnity real-
" ly prepared for those who advised the
" measure, must they not be of opinion that
" the period was *most dangerous*."——This is dangerous, is it? Really dangerous? And yet, my Lord Erskine, I do not recollect, that you said any thing; no, not even one single word, against these same *boroughs*, while you were *in office*. Then your lordship (for any thing that I heard to the contrary) had no objection to these boroughs; and, indeed, it seemed as if they were considered to be very good things. These boroughs, my lord, were all in existence in 1806, when you and your colleagues made an

appeal "to the sense of the people." So that, if there were "a number of seats *at* "*the disposal* of those who advised the dis- "solution" of 1807, there must have been a number of seats at the disposal of you and your colleagues, when you advised the dissolution of 1806. There is no getting out of this. Every word said against your opponents, upon this score, cuts both ways; and only serves to convey conviction into the minds of the people; and, that that conviction may, before it be too late, produce an effect salutary to the country, is my earnest hope.——II. IRISH INSURRECTION BILL. —This bill, this fearful bill, passed through a committee of the House of Commons, on the 24th of last month. The reader was before apprized, that it enables the Lord Lieutenant, upon receiving a memorial from the magistrates of a county, stating that *disturbances* exist therein, to proclaim that county in a disturbed state; whereupon the bill compels every man, woman and child in that county, to remain *within* their houses from sun-set at night until sun-rise in the morning, though it is notorious, that between before sun-rise and after sun-set affords some of the best hours for husbandry labour. Good God! What a life to lead! But, the being shut up in this way is a trifle. The magistrates, that is to say, persons selected by the government, have, after the issuing of such proclamation, a right, either by themselves or their officers, to make *forcible entry*, at any time in the night, into any house, to see if its inhabitants are at home, and to take up and imprison all those who may be caught out of their houses. To this nobody in the House of Commons seems to have objected; but, it was proposed so to qualify the clause as to compel the house-searchers to give *ten minutes* to the people within to prepare for the visit. It was stated, that women ought to have a few minutes to rise and dress themselves. But, ten minutes was thought to be *too much*, and the words "reasonable time," a charmingly indefinite phrase, was introduced in the stead thereof. ——But, the most strongly characteristic part of this bill is the clause suspending the Common Law, as to *redress against the magistrates and others*, in cases where they may, under colour of this act, be guilty of unlawful violences against the people. As the law, thank God, stands, in this country, *as yet*, every magistrate and other peace officer is liable to be punished for going beyond the law, under pretence of executing the law, except in cases where the *revenue* is concerned, and there the Common Law, that law by which our forefathers were governed, and of which we have the impudence *to boast*, is, in a great degree, abrogated by statutes, by those statutes, which William the Third's system of funding and taxing introduced. In other matters, however, we have, *as yet*, a *jury* to appeal to against magistrates and other persons in authority, who, under pretence of executing the law, may commit acts of injustice against us; but, how the Irish will now be situated in this respect, the following clause of the bill in question will enable the reader to judge. It is the 5th clause from the end of the bill.——"Provided always, and be it "further enacted, That when *a verdict shall* "*be given for the plaintiff* in any action to "be brought against any justice of the "peace, peace officer, or other person, for "taking or imprisoning, or detaining any "person, or for seizing arms, or entering "houses under colour of any authority "given by this act, and it shall *appear to* "THE JUDGE OR JUDGES before "whom the same shall be tried, that there "was a PROBABLE CAUSE for doing the "act complained of in such action, and the "judge or court shall certify the same on "record, then and in that case the plaintiff "shall not be entitled to more than *sixpence* "damages, *nor to any costs of suit:* provided also, that where a verdict shall be "given for the plaintiff in any such action "as aforesaid, and the *judge or court* before "whom the cause shall be tried, shall certify on the record that the injury for which "such action is brought was wilfully and "maliciously committed, the plaintiff shall "be entitled to treble costs of suit."—— Thus, as the reader will perceive, though a man, injured by the magistrates, or their underlings, should obtain a verdict from the *jury*, the judge may set that verdict aside, and the injured person, by way of *redress*, may have to pay his own costs! It is really difficult to see how a *jury* can be, in such a case, of any use at all.——There was a debate upon this clause, of which I shall give an account.——Mr. *Brand* moved for the whole clause to be expunged, as being "grossly unjust and unconstitutional." *Mr. Percevol* admitted that the clause was not one which he could have wished to see introduced, "but, when the *necessity* of the case "was considered; when it was recollected "that the state of Ireland required that very "irksome and disagreeable duties should be "imposed on the magistrates, which they "would be unwilling to perform, and "which, in fact, it would be dangerous for "them to perform with the zeal and fidelity required, unless they were protected

" from the effects of unintentional errors " into which, *from appearances*, they might " be led; when, in short, it was considered " that the very jurors in such actions of damages might be persons against whom it " had been necessary for them to exercise " the enactments of this act, and whose " minds might, on that account, be inflamed against them; when all these " things were considered, it was *the opinion* " *of those best acquainted with the state of* " *Ireland*, that the act must be imperfectly " executed, unless the magistrates were secured by a clause like the present."—— This is a pretty good confirmation of my Lord Hawkesbury's assertions, respecting " the unanimity that prevails in Ireland, " and the well known readiness of the Irish " to join heart and hand, as one man, against " the enemies of the constitution!"——*Sir Arthur Pigot*, the late Attorney General, in answer to Mr. Perceval said, " that he was " decidedly of opinion, that the provision " now objected to, would be a disgrace to " the statute book. Were they, by this " most extraordinary bill, *to give extraordi-* " *nary powers* to magistrates, and then, after they had exceeded *even the powers* " *given them*, to protect them from the verdict of a jury. If the right hon. gent. " was afraid that the persons aggrieved " might obtain a verdict while the country " was in a state of irritation, *why limit the* " *time for seeking redress to six months?* If " again he was afraid of the inflammable " state of the jurors' minds, and that they " might even have been parties in the supposed transgression, the remedy was plain " and easy—*to change the venue to a more* " *distant county*, where no dissatisfaction or " irritation of feelings had prevailed. It " had been said, that a similar act had been " intended to be proposed by the late ministry. He would only say for one, that he " had never been consulted on, nor heard " of such an intention, nor had he ever seen " the present bill till yesterday. If the state " of Ireland was such as the right hon. gent. " represented, and that a jury could not be " had there whose mind were not in an inflammatory state, why not *take away the* " *trial by jury entirely*, at least *suspend* it, " till the feelings of the people were restored to a greater degree of calmness and " composure? It was *a mockery to continue* " *the trial by jury*, and yet to deprive an injured person of the effect of a verdict after it had been given in his favour. It " was said, that the judges of Ireland were " fair, impartial and upright. He should be " *sorry to doubt it.* He believed, that they " *in common with judges of this part of the* " *kingdom*, with whom he was more intimately acquainted, possessed *every ho-* " *nourable and upright feeling and quality.* " But this was a power not to be intrusted " to any man. It was such a power as the " law had refused to any judge, or any set " of judges whatever."——This answer was complete in all its parts. It left no excuse for the clause.——Now, then, let us hear the defence of it by the present Attorney General, *Sir Vicary Gibbs*, who " contended, that the enactment now objected " to was not so novel as the hon. and learned baronet had supposed. He confessed " that plaintiffs in the situation alluded to " were to be deprived of the benefit of the " common law; but *was not this already* " *the case in all revenue questions?* Where " an officer of the revenue was sued, nothing " but the dry damage sustained by the injured party was awarded against him, " Where it was a question of *intention* in " revenue cases, and *no intention could be* " *shewn*, the plaintiff could not recover; " and it had been determined, in the case " of Sutton and Johnston, that the question " of "*probable cause*" was a question for " the judge. There the defendant would " have an acquittal, and of course *his costs* " *from the plaintiff*; here the plaintiff was " to have a nominal verdict, even although " the judge was of opinion that the probable cause was with the defendant. The " duties which magistrates would have to " perform in *the present state of Ire-* " *land*, were of a *most invidious na-* " *ture*, and he thought that this was " not too great an indemnity to allow " them in the discharge of such duties."—— A *Mr. Boyle* supported the clause, upon the ground, that the same had been enacted before in Ireland, and, indeed, that a similar provision now made part of the statutes of that country; and, he asked Sir Arthur Pigot why he had not, *when in place*, come forward and proposed to do it away. This was a close question. Aye, this is the rub. All these things the Whigs forgot while in place. Mr. Erskine, become Baron Erskine of Clackmanam, forgot, quite forgot those bills, against which he had so strongly protested, and so solemnly vowed to endeavour to cause to be repealed. Nay, he gave his vote for making us pay the debts of the man, by whom they had been framed. This is never to be forgotten.——Mr. *Whitbread* said, that " he had indeed heard " something like an attempt at a legal de- " fence of the measure, by shewing that " such practices also prevailed in revenue

" questions. But would that render the " power more agreeable to law or to the " constitution? Was it not *known and ac-* " *knowledged*, that our revenue laws were " *infractions of our constitutional liberties*, " and were only tolerated as acts of *necessi-* " *ty*, which, indeed, was the only attempt " at a vindication of the present measure. " The necessity of the revenue laws we " must all be aware of, *a great revenue* " *could not otherwise be expected to be* " *levied*, but of the necessity of the pre- " sent provision, he confessed he was by " no means convinced. An hon. gentle- " man (Mr. Boyle) had, however, treat- " ed the provision as part of the existing " laws of this country, and had asked, " why, if so obnoxious to his learned " friend (sir A. Pigott) he had not moved " to have it expunged from the Statute " Book? A provision to the same effect " he (Mr. Whitbread) admitted, did make " part of a statute of the parliament of " Ireland, which would expire on the 1st of " August. It would have been *too much* " however, he suspected, for his learned " friend to have come forward here, and " moved to have that enactment expunged. " At all events an enactment of the Irish " parliament, could not act as a precedent " for that house, or afford any such argu- " ment for now adopting it, as if they had " been re-enacting a former legislative mea- " sure of their own. There might be a " general conviction of the necessity of the " present act, and yet the clogging it with " one clause similar to that now objected to, " might render it so unpalatable that many " gentlemen, who like himself, were not " otherwise unfriendly to the measure, " might rather wish to see Ireland take its " chance than thus relinquish one of the " dearest and most valuable rights. It was " hardly possible, but that in the execution " of such an act as the present, innocent " persons should suffer wrong. Their " country, however, would still be natu- " rally dear to them, and they would cheer " themselves with the hope that they had " still a remedy left; that they had still a " jury to protect them and to redress the " wrongs they had sustained. If the clause " now objected to, however, should pass, " they could have no such consolation. " They might appeal to a jury; a jury " might give them redress; but they might " then find the judge interpose, and de- " prive them of that recompence for their " wrongs to which they were justly entitled. " He would ask, could a man in this situa- " tion have *the same feelings towards his* " *country* as if no such clause had found its " way into the present bill?——*Sir John* " *Newport* related two cases in which the " precipitancy of the magistrates had been " the ruin of two worthy individuals, the " one, that of a merchant who was taken " up on suspicion, £100,000 bail was of- " fered for his appearance at the necessary " time; this was refused, the man's busi- " ness was ruined for want of his own pre- " sence to conduct it, and he became a " bankrupt. He afterwards went out to " America; he carried with him the " disease of the mind which had thus been " occasioned, became melancholy, his " senses were deranged, and he made an " attempt upon his life. Another person " was apprehended in the county of Tip- " perary, because he was guilty of having " *a piece of French manuscript in his pocket*, " and by order of the Sheriff he *was* " *flogged*, because the sheriff in his ex- " treme *loyal zeal* concluded that the ma- " nuscript must be seditious, or it would " not have been written in French, *a lan-* " *guage which he did not understand*. He " therefore intreated gentlemen to look a " little at the other side; to feel a little for " the injured individual as well as for the " erring magistrates.——*Mr. Windham* al- " ways considered the principle of the re- " venue laws a very deplorable departure " from the general principles of British le- " gislation, and could not readily be in- " duced to think that we ought to adopt " what must be in some instances an unjust " exception, instead of what was an ac- " knowledged, just, and liberal establish- " ed rule. The case of Sutton and John- " ston was a singular exception, not ex- " tremely worthy of imitation."——*Col. Vereker* was afraid this excellent bill was in danger of being *frittered away*.——The *Solicitor General* said, that " if *this* clause " was omitted *all the preceding clauses* " *might be cancelled also*." Well, then, poor Ireland, you are in a hopeful state, since it is held to be absolutely necessary to give such extraordinary, such terrible powers over your people, and since even these powers are of no use, unless impunity be secured to the persons who are entrusted with the exercise of them, and who, upon " *probable* cause" may surpass them, no matter in what degree!——Yet, I do not say, that, in order to prevent a rebellion in Ireland, such measures may not be neces- sary; but, I say, that the fact of such ne- cessity but badly accords with the halcyon picture drawn by Lord Hawkesbury, and with the positive assertions, lately made in

the ministerial papers, that, at no period, was Ireland ever more loyal or tranquil.—— But, there are two or three points in Mr. Whitbread's speech which must not pass unnoticed. The first is the proposition, that "*a great revenue cannot be collected* "*without infraction of our constitutional* "*liberties.*" Sir Francis Burdett has said the same a thousand times, and in a thousand different shapes, and at every such time he has been called every thing short of a traitor. The fact is, however, exactly so; and, for this reason it is, that I wish to see the taxing system changed. Mr. Windham observed, that the revenue laws were the *exception*, and not the *rule*; but, Sir, it is a fearfully large exception; for these laws completely circumscribe us; they touch us in every part; not a man of us is exempted, or can be by any care of our own, exempted from their operation. More than a *hundred thousand elite men* are engaged in executing them upon a population of eight millions and a half of men, women and children; and, I am persuaded, that, if you were to make an accurate calculation, you would find, that out of every *ten* able men in this country, *one* is, in some way or another, empowered to act under the laws of the revenue, and yet you, who dislike these laws, dislike also "the result of the Westminster election," in which a spirit so opposite to these laws was manifested.—— Mr. Whitbread said, that "it would have "been *too much* for his learned friend, the "late Attorney General, to have come "forward, while in place, and propose to "expunge from the statute book the clause "now re-enacted." But Sir, *why* would it have been "*too much*"? and, it is this *why*, precisely this *why*, that we want to be informed of. The fact is, Sir, it would have been too much for *lord Grenville*; and, here is an instance wherein the people were sacrificed to "the compromise of contend-"ing factions", for the having said that which was the case you, Sir, attacked, in what you regarded as the most vulnerable part, the Middlesex address of Sir Francis Burdett.——The Honourable House divided, as it is called, upon the clause in question, and, it is hardly necessary to say, that it was carried in the affirmative.——After this the *duration* of the bill was fixed at *two years* and to the end of the next ensuing session of parliament. Upon this *Mr. Grattan* made a speech full of first-rate *loyalty*, insomuch that he was loudly applauded, it appears, by the Honourable House, and particularly by Mr. Beresford and General Loftus, whose praises he seems most richly to have deserved. He earnestly exhorted the Irish members to inculcate among their constituents the fundamental maxim of English policy, namely, *to have nothing to do with France*; which was very patriotic, to be sure; but, after having heard the speech of Lord Hawkesbury, one can hardly conceive that there was much necessity for such an exhortation, seeing that "all "the Irish, to a man, are ready to join heart "and hand against the tyrant, who is sub-"duing the rest of Europe." Upon the passing of the bill, in the House of Commons, on the 27th of July, Mr. Grattan, as is stated in the report of the debate, "de-"clared, that he was informed, that meet-"ings of a *treasonable* nature were held in "Ireland. He did *not mean* to accuse his "countrymen of *treason* or *disaffection*; "but he was *certain*, that there was a "*French party in Ireland*; it was against "them, and *not* against *Irishmen*, that the "operation of the bill was directed; and "sooner than run a risk of *losing the con-*"*stitution altogether*, he would take upon "himself his full share in common with "his majesty's ministers, of the responsi-"bility which would attach to the mea-"sure."——Good! Really Mr. Grattan is in a fair way of securing the praises of the friends of "regular government, social or-"der, and our holy religion," as John Bowles says. No; the Honourable Gentleman did not mean to accuse his countrymen of disaffection; he thought, doubtless, with lord Hawkesbury, that they would unite, hand and heart against the enemy of their country. He was only quite sure, that there was a *French party* in Ireland; that was all.——Mr. *Sheridan*, whose speech I must insert, made a speech of a very different sort. He said, "he could not agree to "the bill in any shape; but most particu-"larly the amendments, which would "make it in some degree palatable, were "rejected. If, said he, the time of read-"ing the bill a third time had afforded me "the best possible opportunity of deliver-"ing my sentiments on it at such length as "I chose, I should not have profited by the "advantage. I certainly did wish, and "mean, to have selected the fittest occasion "for giving fully my reasons for the abhor-"rence I feel for its principle, and the con-"tempt I entertain for its provisions; but "circumstances have since embarrassed my "judgment, and I will state them shortly "and sincerely. When I find the princi-"ple of the bill admitted on the plea of ne-"cessity by all those to whose judgment "and information I am bound to pay the

" utmost deference, when I find I cannot " oppose their acquiescence without arraying my knowledge of the fact of the real " situation and temper of Ireland against " their superior means of information, I " feel the presumption and hazard of taking upon myself the responsibility of an " earnest endeavour to persuade the house " to reject a measure which I am almost " single in regarding as the worst, the foulest, and the foolishest measure, that ever " solicited the sanction of parliament; but " still more am I influenced by observing " in my attendance on the committee, where " I avow to have shunned taking any part, " washing my hands, and absolving my " conscience from meddling with, or tampering in any attempt to mend that " which is so hateful in principle, that it is " perhaps best that it should carry with it " all its unequal proportion of deformity. " I say, I cannot but have been induced to " forego my first determination, by observing that so many efforts at modification, " moved by most respectable characters, " and supported by the most unanswerable " arguments, have been rejected and reprobated by insulting majorities."——Oh, what a man this might be! Had I such talents, and had but a month to live, the weight of those talents should be felt.—— The bill passed by a majority of 106 against 8.——This law is, then, by this time, in operation. It is the law of Ireland; and, though I do not say, that I disapprove of it, because, for any thing that I know to the contrary, it may be necessary to prevent a rebellion, I may, I hope, be permitted to beseech the reader to consider what the state of Ireland must be, if such necessity exists. I know, that Englishmen are too much in the habit of taking no thought about the four or five millions of their fellow subjects who live in Ireland; that they are too apt to say, " do what you please with them, so " that you keep them from doing that " which will endanger us." But, is this worthy of an English mind? And, if it could be justified upon principles of morality, can it be justified upon principles of policy? We may rail against the Irish as long as we please; we may call them rebels and half-savages till we are tired; no one can prevent us from despising or hating the Irish; but I think, it is too much for us to blame them, if they should happen most cordially to hate us in return. We have before us now some of the effects of the blessed *union*, which Pitt and lord Castlereagh, through means very little mysterious, effected, and which union together with the subduing of Tippoo Sultaun, Pitt, in his defence of the peace of Amiens, asserted to have given to this kingdom *more additional power than France had gained by all her conquests!* And yet, we are compelled to pay his debts, and to erect a monument to his memory!!

——III. MILITARY PLAN.——This plan is neither more nor less than a return to *the ballot*, with additional rigour; that ballot, that very system, which all men, of all parties, had joined in reprobating. As to the making of a man, who has nothing but his labour to maintain him and his family, pay as much as a man of ten thousand or a hundred thousand a year, nothing need be said upon it. It speaks for itself. It is *felt*; it will be felt; and, in that respect, it will certainly be efficient. *Necessity* is the plea here also; and what other plea has any measure of this sort? Such measures have *always* been justified upon this ground; and, what measure is there, which, upon such ground, may not be justified? But, at a time when this plea is so often used, one might be permitted to ask, *whence the necessity has arisen?* Who has been the cause of this dire necessity? " An overruling providence," as Pitt most piously observed? That will not do, first, because you never attribute any of your *successes* to an overruling providence; and next, because, if this be the cause of the necessity, it is perfectly useless to struggle against it; you are, in fact, upon this hypothesis, at war with providence itself. The piety, therefore, of Pitt and John Bowles is unavailing, and, indeed, I am afraid, that it would merit a term very different from that which has been given to it. The necessity, then, must be traced to some other cause, or causes; and, though these causes may, some of them, be remote and obscure, there can, I think, be no doubt, that the great evident cause has been Pitt, left to pursue his own views, *unchecked* by a Commons' House of Parliament. At any rate, deny this as long as you please, one thing you must allow, that it is you yourselves, you, the two great factions, who have, between you, in and out of place, had the sole management and controul of the nation and its resources. The " Jacobins and Level- " lers " have had no hand in the matter. You have had it all to yourselves. However you have been hampered, baffled, and beaten in your projects abroad, you have triumphed over all discontent and opposition at home. Here you have been completely masters. Well, then, do not look to *the people* for the cause of the necessity. This is a point, which, if I were able, I would

urge more forcibly. It should always be borne in mind; because the outcry against "Jacobins and Levellers" is very convenient for the purpose of bewildering the public mind, and of turning it aside from that which ought to be the chief object of its attention. It is useless to clamour in this way, unless for the purpose of misleading; for still we, if we think justly, shall say: "Very well, the Jacobins and "Levellers may be consummate villains, "but, at any rate, they have had no hand "in producing the distresses and the dangers, with which you yourselves say that "the nation is now surrounded. One set of "you, as to these military means, enact, in "1803, that there shall be volunteers, an "army of reserve, aud a ballot for militia; "another set of you come, in 1804, and "enact, that there shall be no army of reserve, no ballot for militia, and that "there shall be a parish bill, and a permanent duty of volunteers; a third set of "you come, in 1806, and enact, that there "shall be no permanent duty of volunteers, "that most of the allowances to them shall "cease, that there shall be no inspecting "field officers, and that there shall be a "training of the people; a fourth set of "you come, in 1807, and you enact, that "there shall be inspecting field officers, "that the volunteers shall be revived, and "that the ballot for militia shall be restored "with greater rigour than ever. But, with "all, or with any part of this, the Jacobins "and Levellers have nothing to do. It is "all your own work. You have had all "our property and all our persons at your "command. You have been left quite unchecked. Your imagination has had full "scope for all its freaks; and, therefore, "whatever be the consequence, blame not "us."—It was stated, and, I think, proved, during the debates that have taken place upon the subject of the plan now before us, that there are *already men enough* embodied, if those men were properly managed. And, when such a proposition was brought forward, it does not seem that it would have been too much to inquire a little into the management of the force now on foot, especially after what has transpired with respect to the men, who, as the newspapers tell us, have *blinded* themselves, in order to procure, thereby, a discharge from the service. The account of the transactions, here alluded to, I here insert from the Courier news-paper of the 20th of July last.—"A most wicked and diabolical *conspiracy* "has lately been discovered in the 28th "regiment of foot, stationed at Malden in "Essex. The conspirators *having heard* "that many of our soldiers, on their return "from Egypt, were afflicted with a disorder called the Ophthalmia, which occasioned blindness, originated a report that "the complaint was infectious, and that about "300 of that regiment had experienced "its dreadful effects. Many of the men "exhibited every appearance of this alarming calamity. Some were totally blind, "and others had suffered the loss of one "eye. Government became much alarmed "at the affair, and surgeons of eminence "were sent down to investigate the disorder. Some of the men were in consequence discharged, and others were "pensioned and sent to Chelsea. One man "expressing a wish to be sent home to "Ireland, was allowed a guide to attend "him. At length it appears, from the "confession of one, who became an evidence against the rest, that the blindness "was temporary, and caused by the application of a certain ointment to the "eyes. In general, the blindness did not "continue longer than three weeks, unless "to continue the deception a repetition of "the ointment was adopted.——Every man "using the ointment was bound by a particular oath devised for the occasion, not "to discover the secret. This man stated "that this strange and abominable scheme "was engaged in for the purpose of *procuring discharges*, or *being sent to Chelsea*, "&c. Mr. Graham, the Magistrate, and "Mr. Stafford, chief clerk of Bow-street, "*to whom the public is already so much indebted*, have attended several examinations "of the culprits at Malden. The last took "place on Friday, when the witness deposed, "that the ointment was used by nearly 300 "men; some caused both eyes to be affected, and others thought it sufficient to become blind in the firelock eye only. The "witness also stated that on a certain morning after one of his comrades had used "the pernicious ointment, he met him and "said, "How do you do, —?" "By J—s, "" charmingly (said he), for I am quite "" blind of one eye and *devil a much* can "" I see with the other." The oath was "proved against 28, who were committed "to Chelmsford gaol, and will take their "trials on Tuesday next for a conspiracy, "under the mutiny act, which declares, "that "any person being legally enlisted "" for his Majesty's service; and shall, "" either by maiming himself, or causing "" himself to be maimed, for the pur-"" pose of obtaining his discharge, is lia-"" ble to be tried by the Civil Power,

" "and transported for life." The others " implicated, as far as regards the oint- " ment, will be tried by a court martial, as " soon as it can be assembled in the eastern " districts " ——So, it is necessary, is it, to send for *police magistrates* down into the counties, when any examination of consequence is to take place; and then to puff those magistrates off in the London news papers? Was there no magistrate in Essex; no gentleman in the commission of the peace, capable of acting upon an occasion like this?——There is a mistake about " the conspirators having *heard* that many " of the soldiers from Egypt became " blind;" for this very 28th regiment were in Egypt; they were at the battle of Alexandria, where they behaved with singular bravery, it being owing to their courage and discipline, that the 42nd regiment, after being broken, were not cut totally to pieces. So that these men had *seen* the effects of the Egyptian sun and sand.——As to the act of making themselves blind, there is not a possibility of expressing one's feelings. But, ought there not to be some inquiry with respect to the *cause* of a hatred of the service such as these men must have entertained? I leave the editor of the Courier to characterize the conduct of these soldiers; but, I ask the reader, what, he thinks, must become the state of his mind, before he could attempt to afflict himself with even a temporary blindness! Unhappy wretches are sometimes guilty of self-murder; but, to do an act, voluntarily, which shall expose you to the risk of blindness, is, surely, the next in order, as expressive of despair. ——This is a dreadful symptom. It is in vain that a hint is thrown out, that these self-blinders are all Irishmen. That cannot very well be true. There must, in all probability, have been many Englishmen out of the three hundred. And is not the *cause* worthy of enquiry? It is nonsense to treat the act as a mere *conspiracy*. A conspiracy of men against their own eye-sight! Say, that it was for the purpose of obtaining their release from the service; but, if they will do this for that purpose, what will they not do for the same purpose? You will transport them for life, if you detect them. And, will that have any *terrors* for men so disposed? There must be a something, a cause some where, which renders life a burden in the service, before men will endeavour to release themselves by such means. Therefore, I hope, that the government will set on foot a rigorous inquiry into this cause; and, that whatever it be, it will be removed, before the time comes, when the army is to be called to the coast' there to defend the country against an invading enemy. The cause may be in the erroneous notions of the soldiers themselves, or in their perverseness; but, wherever it be, it is, by wise management, capable of being removed. For my part, I have heard of nothing so alarming as this indubitable proof of hatred to the service. I hope, that " *hush*" will not be the word here too; if it be, our situation is desperate indeed! ——To return, for a moment, to the plan, if a plan it can be called; the best plan would be to do something, that should give the great mass of the people new feelings with respect to their country and the dangers which threaten it. Mr. Whitbread, in the debate of the 27th of July, said " that nothing would tend more to the " strength and security of that empire than " the true sentiment of cordial union and " co-operation through all orders of the " people. I have always (said he) thought " that your best strength would be peace " among yourselves; peace with your de- " pendencies, and above all, peace in Ireland " *(a general cry of hear! hear!)*—peace " with the Irish Catholic, and that would " do more for you than all your measures " for new levies and new conscripts."—— Yes, " a general cry of *hear, hear*"; but, there is something more than a cry of this sort required. The *exigency of the moment* is pleaded; it has been pleaded any time these fifteen years last past; but, it isstrange, that, at no part of that period, it never should have been thought of to try measures other than those of *new burdens* and *additional force.* Necessity is constantly the plea for these measures, and it is not strange, that that same necessity should never have been the plea for measures of a different sort. There are now 38,000 men to be raised by ballot, this will require about the sum (for it is the *money* and not *persons* of the balloted men that is obtained) £760,000. Now, why not raise this sum, at once upon men who have incomes of more than £500. a year? If all place-men, pensioners and others deriving great emoluments from the public were to give up only one year's income, that alone would raise the 38,000 men, supposing them to be necessary. And would this be too much to sacrifice upon such an occasion? The sinecures of the Grenville family, together with those of Lords Arden, Hobart, Bathurst, and Hawkesbury, would, at once, yield, for one year, about £100,000. Would this be too much to think of? It is not easy to calculate how great the effect of this would be upon the minds

of the people. But, I am willing to bear my share. I am willing to see the expence borne in the manner first proposed. Any thing rather than press harder upon the people; any thing rather than make them desperate; any thing rather than risk the danger of inducing them to think, that they have nothing to lose from the invasion of their country. The people fully expected, that the ballot would never be revived, and in that expectation they felt great consolation. What, then, must now be the effect, when every parish receives the news, that a ballot, more heavy than ever, is approaching? How many fathers, mothers, and wives will now be kept in hourly apprehension! What discontent *must* be excited in the breasts of those liable to the ballot! What curses will they not bestow upon the military life! What insuring, what crimping, what fraudulent practices, what baseness and knavery of all sorts will not this measure give rise to! Better, a thousand times better, a conscription for personal service at once, because, though the measure would be hard, it would be impartial; it would fall with equal weight upon the rich and upon the poor.

AMERICAN STATES.——The history of the squabble which has taken place between these States and us is given in the following paragraph, said to be an extract of a letter from Halifax, Nova Scotia, dated on the 5th of July.——"This is to advise you of an "important event, which has lately taken "place off the Capes of Virginia. The "American frigate Chesapeak, of 44 guns, "commodore Barron, was known to have "several deserters from our ships, lying off "Norfolk (watching the French), on board "her. Representations of the fact had "been, as I am informed, and believe, "made to the American Secretary of the "Navy, to which no satisfactory answer "was given. Captain Douglas, senior officer "on that station, knowing the Chesapeak "about to sail for the Mediterranean, order"ed the Leopard to cruize for her off the "Capes, and to examine her for the deser"ters. Accordingly, when captain Hum"phreys, who commands the Leopard, "came up with the Chesapeak, he sent a "boat on board, with advice of the infor"mation he had received of the deserters, "ann his orders to search for them. Com"modore Barron refusing to allow the "search, captain Humphreys fired several "shot, which the other paying no atten"tion to, he at length fired a broadside, "which she returned by six or seven scatter"ing guns, and, *on receiving a second* "*broadside, struck her colours.* On exami"nation, the deserters, to the number of "five or six, were found, the very men "who had been demanded.—In this short "rencontre the Chesapeak had 6 men kill"ed, and 21 wounded, and has returned "into port very much shattered. The "above is as nearly the state of the case as I "can recollect, from verbal communica"tion, not having seen any written account "of the business. I am farther informed, "that the inhabitants of Norfolk, at a "Town Meeting since, have entered into "some violent resolutions, and have pro"hibited all intercourse with our ships, and "all supplies of water and provisions.—This "affair, I am informed, took place on the "23d of June, and, as far as I can learn, "has been conducted with great coolness "and temper by capt. Humphreys. What "will be the result time must determine; "but if we give up the right of search, we "shall soon be obliged to resign the empire "of the seas. This goes by the *Sylvia* "cutter, dispatched by admiral Berkeley, "with the account to government."—— The American statement is said to be this. ——"They admit the desertion of the men "from the English ships; they admit that "a remonstrance was made in the latter end "of May or beginning of June, to the "Secretary of the Navy of the United States, "and they state, that in consequence the "men were taken into custody, and carried "to Washington, were they underwent a "regular examination in the presence of "Mr. Erskine, the English Ambassador, "and that, on the examination they proved "themselves to be citizens of the United "States, born at or near Baltimore, and "they had been pressed into the British "service in Hampton Roads."——The ministers have said, in the House of Commons, that they are not *fully informed* upon this subject; and, I was very sorry to hear Mr. Perceval say what seemed to indicate a decided disposition to yield. If they do yield, if they follow the advice of the Morning Chronicle (which, for years, seems to have had a general retainer from the Americans) our navy will not be long-lived. Mind, I do not pretend to say, that we may not, in this instance, have been in the wrong; because there is nothing *authentic* upon the subject; nor am I prepared to say, that our right of search, in *all cases*, extends to ships of war; but of this I am certain, that, if the law of nations do not allow you to search for deserters in a friend's territory, neither

do they allow that friend to inveigle away your troops or your seamen, to do which is *an act of hostility*, and I ask for no better *proof* of inveigling, than the enlisting and the refusing to give up, such troops or seamen.——The American statement I do not believe; and, were there no other witnesses, I would not believe it upon the oaths of all their sea captains put together. The fault of our officers, upon that station, has been excessive forbearance. We have suffered greatly from our tameness towards those states. Our commanders (with some few exceptions) have discovered the feelings of traders to America. The insults and injuries they have endured were disgraceful.——The Americans are like the worst sort of women. They will set up a terrible outcry. They will beat Admiral Berkeley in lungs; but, if we keep a firm foot, they will soon listen to reason.——Poor CAPTAIN BARRON and his frigate! I dare say, that this swaggering blade (who is, doubtless, dubbed *Commodore*) has, a thousand times said, that he wished for such an opportunity as this. I can form a very accurate conception of the rage of the people at Norfolk, and of the noisy town-meeting; and, their burning of the water casks of the Melampus is perfectly in character, putting one in mind of the savages, who used to destroy the boat tackling of Captain Cook and to murder his straggling mariners, when one of their queens or princesses had been induced (without much importunity) to commit a faux pas with some one or other of the crew. As to poor Commodore Barron, I should not wonder, if they were to eat him alive. Their rage must be beyond all bounds, and if, in their manner of expressing it, they should appear to be very nice, all I can say is, they are greatly reformed.——The Morning Chronicle seems to anticipate an Iliad of woes from a war with the American States. I thought I had *proved* to him, that that country could not go to war with us, without producing its own destruction as a political body. If necessary, I will prove it to him again. But I would not, because I am morally certain of this, commit an act of *injustice* towards America. I would only demand and insist upon the *rights* of England; and, above all other things, I would insist upon it, that America should not be permitted to destroy the British navy.——We are, not, observe, to judge of the feelings of the *people* of America, properly so called, by what we read in their base and ignorant newspapers, any more than we are to judge of the feelings of the people of England by what we read from the London daily press. Nor is the conduct of the rum-soused rabble at Norfolk any criterion. *More than one half* of the people of America are disgusted at the base partiality, which is shown to our enemies; and, though the other part is by far the most noisy, I venture to predict, that, when time has been taken to cool men's minds, the voice of our friends, and the friends of justice, will prevail. *They will not go to war with us.* Without justifiable cause; without some act of clear injustice on our part, their government will not venture upon such a measure; and, as I am pretty certain that our fault will not be on that side, I conjure the ministers to remain firm.——In all disputes with America, there is a set of persons amongst us, who are always ready *to presume against ourselves.* This is intolerable, and that, too, while our presumption is exactly the contrary with respect to disputes between us and every other feeble power. The reason is, that there are so many persons here, who have property in the American funds; that there are so many partners in American mercantile *houses*, as they are called; and that there are so many opulent manufacturers, who keep thousands of English wretches to "work and weep," for their own profit and for the clothing of the Americans. This is the principal reason of a partiality so unnatural, and so disgraceful to our character.——"*Peace, peace,*" says Mr. Whitbread. Aye, *peace* as soon as possible; but if you mean *submission* I am for putting it off to the last moment. I am far, God knows my heart, from relishing submission at home; but, let my country hold up her head at any rate.——In dismissing this subject for the present, I beg leave just to add, that, if we permit the Americans to inveigle and detain our seamen, we cannot have a navy. The Americans will, in fact, recruit for France; and, England will be beaten by her own seamen.

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.——A correspondent has favoured me with some documents relating to the Moulsham contract. They, and the statement arising out of them, shall be inserted in my next; and, in the meanwhile I am ready to declare, that they contain some circumstances very favourable to Sir Henry Mildmay, who, upon a view of these circumstances, appears to have *said against himself* much more than has been said against him by every body else, and certainly much more than the whole documents, as I now possess them, did by any means warrant.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIA.—*Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, signed at Memel, January 28, 1807.*

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, being equally desirous to terminate in an amicable manner, and to settle by a formal treaty, the differences which have for a short time interrupted the relations of union and good understanding which had so long subsisted between them; their said Majesties have nominated as their plenipotentiaries to be employed in this important undertaking, namely, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the Rt. Hon. J. Hely Baron Hutchinson, a General of his Army, and Knight of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath; and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Frederic William de Zastrow, his Minister of State and Cabinet, Major General of his Armies, and Knight of the Orders of the Red Eagle and of Merit, who, after having communicated and exchanged their respective full powers, and found them in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:——Art. 1. There shall be between their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, their heirs and successors, their kingdom, provinces, and subjects, perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and perfect friendship, to the end that the temporary misunderstanding which has recently taken place, shall, from the present moment, be regarded as entirely at an end, and shall be buried in eternal oblivion.—Art. 2. The accommodation and the reconciliation between the two courts having for their basis the renunciation, on the part of his Prussian Majesty, of the country of Hanover, his said Majesty relinquishes all right and title whatsoever to the actual and future possession of the Electoral Territories of his Britannic Majesty, and renounces, at the same time, all the pretensions which he had advanced to those States. And in case the events of the war should bring about the re-occupation of the Electorate of Hanover by the Prussian armies, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages not to take possession of the Electorate but in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and immediately to re establish the ancient form of civil government and the ancient constituted authorities of his Britannic Majesty, which authorities shall be formally invested with the entire administration of affairs, in the name, and for the advantage of their legitimate Sovereign.——Art. 3. The freedom of navigation and of commerce shall be restored to the subjects of his Prussian Majesty, as it formerly was in time of peace, and on the same footing as it was before the period of the late exclusion of the British flag from the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe; and his said Britannic Majesty having with this view already issued an order, bearing date the 19th November, 1806, to all officers commanding his ships of war, as well as to all privateers, not further to molest, detain, or bring in any Prussian vessels which they may meet at sea, provided their cargoes be innocent and not prohibited by the laws of war, and that they be not bound to ports belonging to the enemies of Great Britain, or occupied by them, the said order shall continue to be observed, and to have effect in its full force and extent.—Art. 4. And in pursuance of the above determination, his Britannic Majesty promises and engages to issue to his Admiralty, without delay, the necessary orders that the merchant vessels which, by the Proclamation of the 24th of September, 1806, were subject to provisionary detention, shall be released and restored to their proprietors, with perfect liberty either to continue their voyages, if their place of destination be not prohibited, or otherwise to return to their own country.—Art. 5. The crews of all the Prussian vessels brought into British ports since the publication of the letters of marque, shall be set at liberty immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty; and the British government shall cause them to return, in the most direct and expeditious manner, into the dominions of his Prussian Majesty, to whatever place shall be hereafter agreed upon.—Art. 6. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages not to impede, nor to allow any other power to impede, the free navigation of his Britannic Majesty in any of the ports of his dominions, but, on the contrary, to afford full liberty to the English flag to enter into and to proceed from the abovementioned ports in the same manner, as before the late closing of the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe.—Art. 7. The two high contracting parties mutually promise and engage to invite his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to take upon himself the guarantee of the renunciation on the part of his Prussian Majesty, of his rights and pretensions to the country of Hanover, as stipulated in the second article of the present treaty.—Art. 8. Every other subject of discussion or arrangement between the two courts, is reserved for future amicable adjustment.——Art. 9. The ratifications, drawn up in due and proper form, shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, in case the pre-

sent difficulty of communication should allow of it.—In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treat , and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms. Done at Memel, this 28th day of January, 1807.——HUTCHINSON.—FREDERIC GUILLAUME DE ZASTROW.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Seventy-seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 160.)

The commandant, thus abandoned by the garrison, saved himself by sea, and thus we are in possession of the town and port of Dantzic. These events are a happy presage of the campaign. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, were at Heiligenbeel. They might have conjectured the surrender of the place from the cessation of the fire. They might have heardthe cannon from that distance.——The Emperor, to express his satisfaction to the besieging army, has granted a present to each soldier.——The siege of Graudentz is now commencing under the command of General Picton. General Lazowsky commands the engineers; and General Danthouard the artillery. Graudentz is strong from the number of its mines.—The cavalry of the army is in fine order. The division of light cavalry, two divisions of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons, have been reviewed at Elbing, on the 26th, by the Grand Duke of Berg. On the same day, his Majesty arrived at Bishoverden and Stalsburgh, where he reviewed Hautpoult's division of cuirassiers, and the division of dragoons of General Crouchy. He has been satisfied with their appearance and with the good condition of their horses.—The Ambassador of the Porte, Seid Mohammed Emen Vahid, has been presented, on the 28th, at two o'clock, to the Emperor, by the Prince of Benevento. He delivered his credentials to his Majesty, and remained an hour in his cabinet. He is lodged at the Castle, and occupies the apartments of the Grand Duke of Berg, who is absent on account of the review. It is confidently said, that the Emperor told him that he and the Sultan Selim would be, for ever after, inseparably connected as the right hand and the left. All the good news respecting the success at Ismail and in Wallachia have just arrived. The Russians have been obliged to raise the siege of Ismail and evacuate Wallachia.

78th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Battle of Spanden.—On the 5th of June the Russian army put itself in motion. Its divisions on the right attacked the *tête-du-pont* of Spanden, which Gen. Frere defended with the 27th regiment of light infantry. Twelve Russian and Prussian regiments made several ineffectual attempts. Seven times did they renew the attack, but were as often repulsed. The 17th regiment of dragoons charged the enemy immediately after the last assault, and forced them to abandon the field of battle. Thus, during a whole day, two divisions attacked without success a single regiment, which, it must be admitted, was entrenched.—The Prince of Ponte Corvo, in visiting the entrenchments during the intervals of attack, received a slight wound, which will take him from his command fifteen days. Our loss in this affair was trifling. The enemy lost 1200 men, and a number of wounded.

Battle of Lomitten.—Two Russian divisions belonging to the centre attacked at the same time the *tête-du-pont* of Lomitten. Gen. Fetry's brigade (part of Marshal Soult's corps) defended the *tête-du-pont*. The Russian general was killed, along with 1100 men; 100 were taken, and a great many wounded. We had 120 men killed and wounded.—During this period, the Russian Commander in Chief, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions, attacked the positions of Marshal Ney, at Alizirzen, Gutstadt, and Volsdorff. The enemy were every where repulsed; but when Marshal Ney perceived that the force opposed to him exceeded forty thousand men, he obeyed his orders, and conducted his corps to Ackendorff.

Battle of Deppen.—On the following day, the enemy attacked the 6th corps in its position at Deppen, on the Passarge. They were repulsed. The manœuvres of Marshal Soult, his intrepidity, which he imparted to all his troops, the abilities displayed in this situation by the General of Division Marchand, and his officers, merit the highest eulogiums. The enemy acknowledges having lost this day 2000 killed, and more than 3000 wounded. Our loss was 180 killed, 200 wounded, and 250 taken. The latter were for the most part taken by the Cossacks, who, on the morning of the attack, had got into the rear of the army.

Battle of June 8.—The Emperor arrived at Marshal Ney's camp, at Deppen, on the 8th. He immediately gave the necessary orders. The 4th corps marched to Volfsdorff, where meeting the Russian division of Kamenski, which was on its way to rejoin the main body, the 4th corps attacked it, deprived it of between 4 and 500 men, made 150 prisoners, and in the evening took its

position at Altzirken.—At the same moment the Emperor advanced to Guttstadt with the corps of Marshal Ney and Lannes, his guard and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the enemy, comprising 10,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, took a position at Glottau, and attempted to dispute the way. The Grand Duke of Berg, after some very skilful manœuvres, drove the enemy from all their positions.—The light brigades of cavalry under Generals Pagol, Bruyeres, and Durosnel, and the division of the heavy cavalry under Gen. Nansouty, triumphed over all the efforts of the enemy. In the evening at 8 o'clock we entered Guttstadt by main force: 1000 prisoners, all the positions in advance of Guttstadt, and the redoubts of the infantry, were the results of this day. The regiments of cavalry of the Swiss guard suffered more than any of the rest.

Battle of June 10.—On the 10th the army moved towards Heilsberg. It took several of the enemy's camps. About a quarter of a league beyond these camps, the enemy shewed himself in a position. He had between 15 and 18,000 cavalry, and several lines of infantry. The cuirassiers of the division d'Espagne, the division of Latour, Mabourg's dragoons, and the brigade of light cavalry, made several charges, and gained ground. At 2 o'clock the corps under Marshal Soult was formed. Two divisions marched to the right, while the division of Lagrande marched to the left, to seize on the extremity of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary, in order to support the left of the cavalry, and made various efforts to maintain themselves in the positions before Heilsberg. More than 60 pieces of cannon scattered death in supporting the enemy's columns, which our divisions nevertheless repulsed, with the most unexampled intrepidity and the characteristic impetuosity of the French. Several Russian divisions were routed, and at 9 in the evening, we found ourselves under the enemy's entrenchments.——The fusileers of the guard commanded by Gen. Savary were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, were engaged, it being already night fall; they attacked the enemy with the view of cutting off his communication with Lansberg, and succeeded completely.—The ardour of the troops was such, that several companies of the infantry of the line insulted the entrenched works of the Russians. Some brave men met their death in the ditches of the redoubts at the foot of the palisades.—The Emperor passed the 11th on the field of battle. He there arranged the corps of the army and the divisions, preparatory to a decisive action, such a one as should put an end to the war. The whole of the Russian army was collected.—The Russian magazines were at Heilsberg. The Russians occupied a fine position, which nature had rendered very strong, and which they encreased by the labour of 4 months.—At 4 in the afternoon, the Emperor ordered Marshal Davoust to change his front, and push forward his left; this movement brought him upon the Lower Alle, and completely blocked up the road from Eylau.—Every corps of the army had its post assigned to it; they were all re-assembled, the first corps excepted, which continued upon the Lower Passarge.——Thus the Russians, who were the first to begin the battle, found themselves shut up in their entrenched camp, and were compelled to give battle in the position they had chosen themselves. It was for a long time believed they would make an attack on the 11th. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves, ranged in columns, in the midst of their entrenchments, fortified with numerous batteries.—But whether those entrenchments did not appear sufficiently formidable, after viewing the preparations which they saw before them; or whether the impetuosity which the French army had shewn on the 10th, had an effect upon them, they began to pass the Alle at 10 o'clock at night, abandoning the whole country to the left, and leaving to the disposal of the conqueror, their wounded, their magazines, and their entrenchments, the result of long and painful labour.—On the 12th, at day-break, all the corps of the army were in motion, and took different directions.—The houses of Heilsberg and its neighbourhood are filled with wounded Russians. The result of the different affairs from the 5th to the 12th has deprived the Russian army of about 30,000 fighting men. They have left between 3 and 4000 prisoners in our hands; 7 or 8 pair of colours, and 9 pieces of cannon. According to the reports of the prisoners several of the most eminent Russian generals have been killed or wounded.—Our loss amounted to 6 or 700 killed. 2000, or 2,200 wounded, and 300 prisoners. The General of Division Espagne was wounded. Gen. Roussol, chief of the staff of the guard, had his head carried away by a cannon ball.——The Grand Duke of Berg had two horses killed under him. M. Segur, one of his aids de-camp, lost an arm. M. Lameth, Marshal Soult's aid-de-camp, was wounded. M. Lagrange,

Col. of the 7th regiment of horse chasseurs, was killed. The detailed reports will communicate particular acts of bravery, and the names of those who were wounded in the memorable battle of June 10.—Several thousand quintals of grain, and a great quantity of different kinds of provisions, have been found in the magazines of Heilsberg.

79th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Wehlau, June 17.——The action of Spandau and Lomitten, the battles of Gutstadt and Heilsberg were only the precursors of still more important events.—On the 12th, at 4 in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg. Gen. Latour Maubourg pursued the enemy with his division of dragoons, and Generals Duronsel and Wattiers' brigade of light cavalry, to the right bank of the Alle, near Bartenstein. In the mean time the light corps advanced in various directions, in order to pass the enemy to cut off his retreat to Koningsberg, and get between him and his magazines. Fortune favoured the execution of this plan.—On the 12th, at 5 o'clock P. M. the imperial headquarters arrived at Eylau. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow; on the contrary, they presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every where adorned by beautiful woods, intersected by lakes, and animated by handsome villages —On the 13th, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced towards Koningsberg with his cavalry, Marshal Davoust followed to support him. Marshal Soult advanced towards Creutzburg; Marshal Lannes towards Demnau; Marshals Ney and Mortier towards Lampasch.——Meanwhile Gen. Latour Maubourg wrote that he had pursued the enemy's rear guard; that the Russians had abandoned a great number of wounded in their flight; that they had evacuated Bartenstein, and that they had directed their retreat on Schippenheil on the right bank of the Alle.—The Emperor immediately proceeded towards Friedland. He ordered the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshals Soult and Davoust, to manœuvre against Koningsberg, while he advanced with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by Gen. Victor, on Friedland.—On the 13th, the 9th regiment of hussars entered Friedland, but was driven out of that place by 3000 of the enemy's cavalry.—On the 14th the enemy advanced on the bridge of Friedland, and at 3 in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day," said the Emperor; "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo."—Marshals Lannes and Mortier were first engaged, they were supported by Gen. Grouchy's dragoons, and by Gen. Nansouty's cuirassiers. Several movements and actions took place. The enemy were stopped and could not pass the village of Postenheim. Imagining that they had only a corps of about 15,000 men opposed to them, they followed the movements of our troops towards Koningsberg; thus the French and Saxon dragoons and cuirassiers had the opportunity of making a brilliant attack, and of taking 4 pieces of cannon.—By 5 in the evening the several corps were at their appointed stations. Marshal Ney was on the right wing, Marshal Lannes in the centre, Marshal Mortier on the left wing; the corps of Gen. Victor and the guards formed the reserve.—The cavalry under the command of Gen. Grouchy supported the left wing.—The division of dragoons of Gen. Latour Maubourg was behind the right wing as a reserve. Gen. Lahousayes' division of dragoons, and the Saxon cuirassiers, formed a reserve for the centre.—Meanwhile the enemy deployed the whole of his army. His left wing extended to the town of Friedland, and his right wing a mile and a half in the other direction.——The Emperor having reconnoitred the position, instantly determined to take the town of Friedland. Then suddenly changing his front, and advancing his right, he commenced the attack with the first part of that wing. *(To be continued.)*

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